

6.
OBSERVATIONS

Upon a late

PAMPHLET

ENTITLED

Miscellaneous Thoughts, &c.



(Price Six-pence.)

10
OBSERVATIONS

Upon a late

PAMPHLET

ENTITLED

Miscellaneous



(Price Six-pence)

6

OBSERVATIONS
UPON A LATE
PAMPHLET,

ENTITLED,

Miscellaneous Thoughts, &c.

IN A

LETTER

To the Noble AUTHOR.



LONDON:

Printed for T. COOPER, at the *Globe* in *Pater-*
Noster Row.

OBSERVATIONS

UPON A LATE

PAMPHLET,

ENTITLED,

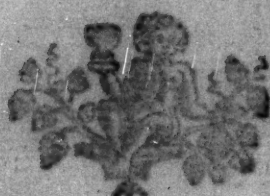
Miscellaneous Thoughts, &c.

IN A

LETTER



To the Noble AUTHOR.



LONDON:

Printed for T. COOPER, at the Globe in Pall-mall.
Nether Row.



OBSERVATIONS.

Upon a late

PAMPHLET

ENTITLED,

Miscellaneous Thoughts, &c.

MY LORD,



SHALL in this Address treat your Lordship with as little Ceremony, as your Lordship treats the whole People of *England* in the Pamphlet I design to animadvert upon. And in the first Place; I declare myself of an Opinion diametrically opposite to that of your Lordship, when you (a) *declare that you are careless of what Censures may be past upon your Work*, because, I think a Writer owes so much Decency to the Publick, as not to express any Unconcern with regard to their Opinion as to his Abilities. Your Lordship's Quality indeed puts you above the common Rank of *Writers*, but does not exempt you from observing that Decorum which is due to *Readers*.

B

(b) You

(a) *Miscell. Thoughts, p. 4.*

(b) You say, you shall plainly deliver your Thoughts and Opinions on these Subjects according to the best Judgment you have been able to make, on the Intelligence you have received from People much better informed than yourself, of the occult Springs on which these State-Engines move, the Use for which they are designed and projected, and the Merits or Demerits of the Workmen. Who can read this Passage without imagining, that the Author was but a *Philosophical cool Spectator* in all the Scenes, which preceded and followed the late Change of Persons in the Administration? One should not imagine that you had been the *intimate Friend*, the *Bosom Confidant*, and the *perpetual Champion* of the late M——r, in all his *dirty scandalous Conduct*. One would not imagine that the Post you possess'd under him, had given you the very best Opportunities of being informed of the (c) *Occult Springs, upon which all the State-Engines of this Nation move*. One would not think that in order to obtain that Post, you had submitted to *Mean-nesses even below Contempt itself*; and that when you could not succeed, you fell into a *Despair, which drove you into Expressions injurious to the R——l Person, whose Knees you were then embracing*.

The Sceptical Air which runs thro' the whole of your Performance, is as little agreeable to your Character, as the Terms in which you address the Publick. You say, (d) *that you*

(b) *Miscell. Thoughts*, p. 1. (c) *Ibid.* (d) *Ibid.* p. 4.

you will set out with three Declarations quite opposite to the Professions of other Writers; but it unluckily happeneth, that your own Expressions betray you into a Vanity and Insincerity superior to that of the vainest and most interested Author. Nothing can be a stronger Proof of this, than your boasting of more Sincerity, than all other Pamphlet-Writers are possess'd of. What is this but saying, that you are an honestest Man than any of your Brother Authors? This Profession might have been believed, had it tended to a Confession of former Insincerity; had you in the subsequent part of your Performance, taken Shame to yourself; had you ingenuously acknowledged, or boldly avowed your own insolent and mercenary Conduct while you had Power; or your abject, poor-spirited Behaviour, when you lost it. But instead of that you tell us, that you write (e) under the Influence of all the Publick Spirit, and all the Principles of Patriotism, you have any Notion of. What professing Patriot, what hypocritical Turncoat, can express himself with more Vanity, or with more Sense of his own Merit, than these Expressions import? No Man can write under any other Influence, or upon any other Principles, than those he has a Notion of, tho' whether that Notion is well or ill founded, must be left to the Determination of the Publick.

As to the Character which you draw of the old Patriots, and New M——rs, when you

B 2

describe

describe their (f) *Affections*, are so engrossed by their Country, that they not only loved their Neighbour as themselves, but doated on a parcel of People they never saw, and with whom they were totally unacquainted, only because they happened to live in the same Island; it is plainly introduced with no other View, than to give a higher Relief to your Lordship's *Amiable Character*, as drawn by yourself. But, my Lord, if I may venture to give my own Opinion after your Lordship, none of these *Apostate Patriots* ever fell into these *ridiculous Professions*. No; They copied the Character of their Architype *Lucifer*, who while he was in a *Sphere of Glory*, had all the Appearance of an *Angel of Light*; and never discover'd the *Bat's Wings*, nor the *Cloven Foot*, till he became a *Prince of Darkness*.

Your Lordship says, every wise Man knows (g) that by the *Universal Laws and Principles of Nature*, *Selfishness* is the *Fundamental primary Ingredient* in the *Composition* of every *Being* throughout the whole *Animal Creation*, and in *Human Kind* as well as the rest. Here, my Lord, I am afraid some little Distinction ought to have been made, betwixt *Moral* and *political Selfishness*. *Morally* speaking, no Man can have any *Volition*, or act upon any *Principle* that does not ultimately resolve into *Self*; for *true Self-love* and *Social* are the same. *Political Selfishness*, with which your Lordship wants to brand all Mankind, is of a quite different

(f) *Miscell. Thoughts*, p. 5.(g) *Ibid*, p. 6.

ferent Nature. It regards only the immediate Interest of one's own Person, without any Regard for *those of Society*, which, in a *Moral Sense*, are inseparable from *true Self-love*. *Political Selfishness* tends to make me a Man of Consequence this Year ; tho' I and my fellow Creatures may all of us be Slaves the next. Your Lordship therefore in your *general Definition* of *Selfishness*, has included Characters, to which it is no ways applicable ; because we have seen several late illustrious Instances of Men, who by their Conduct have, from a Principle of *Moral Selfishness*, disclaimed all Relation to *Political Selfishness*, by refusing to act in any Measures, or upon any Principles, that ultimately tended to the *Prejudice of the Society*, of which they were *Members*, and consequently of *themselves*, their fellow Subjects, or their Posterity : I hope we shall soon see more of these Instances,

Your Lordship says, that (b) *you will endeavour to preserve and enjoy every Advantage arising from our most excellent Constitution to every Member of this Community*. If your Lordship is sincere in this Declaration, *I am afraid* it proceeds from a *New Light*, and I have often observed, that *New Lights* seldom come into the Brain, but thro' some Cranny in the Skull. The Reason, my Lord, why I say it must proceed from a *New Light*, is, because your Lordship was known to be a principal Instrument in, and a strong Advocate for, all the Measures

(b) *Miscell. Thoughts*, p. 8.

fures of the late M——r, whom I believe every Man in *England*, who is uninvolved in his Guilt, owns to have been a *very bad one*, and that he sought to destroy every *Advantage arising from our most excellent Constitution*. How consistent such a Conduct was with the following Declaration, I will leave the World to judge; for in Page 8, you have the following Words: *I will heartily join in detecting and punishing any one who shall project, pursue, or abet such Measures as I think tend either to disturbing the Peace, or diminishing the Prosperity of the Society, of which I am a Member; to violating or weakening the Laws by which we are protected; or in any Measure wantonly impoverishing his Country, or iniquitously wounding the Liberty of this Constitution, the only Form of Government left at present, that I know of in the World, worth living under.* Tho' this, my Lord, is a general Declaration, yet it is so particularly Descriptive of the Grievances which this Nation complains of, that I shall not be surprized to hear of its being read in a certain august Assembly, in Answer to your Lordship's Defence of the late M——r, as has been lately practised in another Assembly, upon an *Apostate Patriot*.

Your Lordship's political Creed, as to the (i) Views and Conduct of Men in Power, may be true from late Experience, but it cannot be universally true of Mankind, for the Reason I have already given, as we have seen
 Men

Men who are not now in Power, for no other Reason, but because they refus'd to act up to the Character and Definition, which your Lordship has given of Statesmen. As to your Lordship's Defence of *Guicciardin* and *Tacitus*, I believe you are pretty right in General, as they both liv'd under Absolute Governments, where Mankind could have no other Motive for Conduct, but *Political Self-Interest*, and where no Consideration of Country, or Constitution can enter. Under such Governments all Civil Altercations or Views proceed from the *Species of Oppression*, and not upon the *Degrees of Liberty*; therefore those Historians cou'd not possibly, *from Experience*, have any manner of Notion of *English* Publick Spirit, any more than your Lordship has of *constitutional Independency*; and their Maxims in Writing are no more applicable to this Country, than the Government they liv'd under is consistent with the *Principles of this Constitution*. But, my Lord, I am pleas'd that I can give your Lordship a convincing Proof, upon what an excessive ill Foundation your Want of Charity stands. The Instance I mean, is drawn from the Conduct of the late M ———r. For I have with as much Attention as I am capable of giving, read over the History of the Falls of all the Ministers in this Government; and can with great Truth declare to your Lordship, and the Publick, that I have observ'd, that most, if not all of them, fell by their having too good an Opinion of Mankind, but that

that the late M——r is the only Instance of one having lost his Post by having too bad an Opinion of them. Whether this is a Maxim he learned from your Lordship, or your Lordship from him, I shall not determine. It is certain however, that Experience contradicts this Maxim, and that both of you found to your Cost, People who were above *all Price*, and Proof against *all Corruption*. I am however far from blaming your Lordship for this Imputation, however severe it is upon human Nature, because I believe you wrote from the Sentiments of your own Breast; and if you found none there either of *Virtue* or *Honour*, it is no Wonder if you imagine that they cannot live in any other.

The next Topic of your Lordship's Declaration is with regard to personal Reflection, where you have the following remarkable Expression. *(k) As to personal Reflections on Men in Power, for which I have declared myself an Advocate, and which so many Fools exclaim against and condemn, either without knowing why, or from an Affectation of more Temper, Moderation and Fairness than the rest of the World; I hold such Reflections not only allowable and just, but always reasonable, and often necessary.* This, my Lord, is a very generous Declaration, as proceeding from you, who have been perhaps more personally lash'd than any Man in this Age; but whether it is meant as owning the Justice of the Censures your Lordship has incurred,

(k) Miscell. Thoughts, p. 16,

incurred, or as an opening for your Lordship to vent upon others some Part of that Gall which arises from *Disappointment and Disgrace*, is what your Lordship alone can determine. But when your Lordship declares against *Coarseness of Expression* in lashing the personal Vices of Mankind, and at the same Time recommends *personal Reflection* upon the Great, from the Example of *Cicero*, I think you are a little out in your Argument. For your Lordship knows, that if we shall follow *Cicero*, no *Fish-woman* ever declaim'd in *coarser Language*, no *Nymph of Drury* in more *obscene Terms*, and no *Thames Waterman* in a more *abusive Dialect*, than did that *Prince of Orators* against his *political Foes*.

As to the Character your Lordship draws of a (1) certain Court, I am ready to subscribe to it with all my Heart; and as you have drawn it from the Life, I think it by far the best Part of your whole Performance. But, my Lord, it puts me in mind of one of *L'Estrange's* Stories, where a monstrous fat Fellow is brought in sweating and cursing in a Crowd at the People for pressing so close upon one another. *And what the D---I have you to do here*, says one, *you great-gutted Son of a B---ch? for you make more Crowd yourself than half the People who are here*. I will leave this Story to be apply'd by your Lordship, after taking Notice, that I believe the Court you hint at is not a *Whit worse, more debauch'd,*

C

more

more *insincere*, or more *prostitute*, than when your Lordship made a very principal Figure in it, or when you was *the Serpent at the Ear of Eve* to direct and model it.

Your Lordship lays it down as a Fact universally taken for granted, (*m*) *that the Completion of the present Parliament, differing so much from that of the last, was occasioned principally by the Weight and Industry of the P. of W. as well as that the first Use his R. H. made of this Success was to insist on these two Points; that Sir R. W. should be removed from Court, and that his own Revenue should be made equal to what his Father's was in his Situation; knowing at the same Time his own Strength so well, that he even refused the Acceptance of the last without a Compliance with the first.* Though I am not so much in the Secret of Affairs as your Lordship, yet I will venture to say, it was never generally understood that the Opposition formed to the Court by his R. H. was the principal Cause of a Change of the M — y; that it concurred in bringing about that Event, I make no Dispute, but I believe there is not a Man who knows what the State of Affairs were when this Change happened, who does not know that it must have been effected, even though his R. H. had opposed it. The Alteration of Numbers on both Sides, which have since happened within Doors, is no Proof the contrary. It only proves, that his R. H. has more Influence there than before, which

(II)

which is no Wonder, if, as your Lordship (*n*) says it is, his Revenue is encreased 50,000 *l.* a Year since that Time.

As to the Gift of Prophecy, with which your Lordship endows the Gazetteer Writers, I cannot believe it to be genuine, unless your Lordship has inspired them. The Conduct of these Patriots, whatever it might be to your Lordship, was, I assure, no great Disappointment to the Friends of the Opposition, either within Doors or without. The Friends of their Country, whatever Notion they had of their Abilities, had never any high Opinion of their Virtues. (*o*) *The restless Ambition*, the violent Passions, the great Pride and little Judgment of your *Antony*, are no new Discoveries in his Character; they betrayed themselves often among his Friends, and very few People were surpris'd when they broke out into all their native Violence, and thereby sunk him to that Contempt on all Hands under which he now labours. Your *Octavius*, my L--d, while he was in the Opposition, had no Credit with either Party, only got in because he was looked upon as a worse Man than any that was to be found in either Party. As to your *Lepidus*, the Publick, I find, is at a Loss to know who the Architype of this Character is: Some People think he fits among the L---s, others among the C-----s. But however that may be, I will venture to say, that neither the one, or the other Person supposed to be figured under this Character,

C 2

was

(*n*) Miscell. Thoughts p. 26. (*o*) Ibid. p. 29.

was of Consequence enough to the Country Party, as to strike them either with Surprize or Despair, when he left them. The one of them never so much as had pretended in publick to any Sentiments of publick Spirit; he never had given one Vote in favour of the C——y Party; he never had done any one Action, which could give them the least Hopes of his doing them Service in case of an Alteration of Measures. Some private Difference might indeed have happened betwixt him and the late M——er, but that was a Difference about the Proportions of Power which each wanted to engross to himself; therefore from all those Considerations, I believe it will be pretty evident, that this *Lepidus* was by no Means one who properly could be called, even in your Lordship's ludicrous Sense of the Word, a *Patriot*.

As to the other Person which some suppose to be the Architype of your *Lepidus*, I believe he never was thought of Consequence enough to be one of the Triumvirate, from whose Hands this great Nation was to expect her Doom. He is, you say, known *to have been a Man of such Abilities, as neither of the other had Reason to (p) apprehend as a Rival; of such, as they could easily impose upon and work to their Purpose; and was casually possessed of such sort of Strength as they could make use of in present, and divest him of whenever they thought fit.* This is a Character which I can by no Means think applicable to the *Mulish, positive*
Dis-

Disposition of the Gentleman, to whom it is thought to be applied; and as to the Strength which *he was casually possessed of*, I never heard of any that could be of use to the *Antonius* and *Octavius* of this Triumvirate.

In short, the plain Story of this Gentleman's Advancement is, not that he was of Importance, or had Strength enough to force himself into the M——y, but that he had so little Conscience and Shame as to offer to betray his Party. There are fifty Men now in the C——y Party, my Lord, whom I could name, in the House of C——s, who might have been as considerable in the Government as this *Lepidus*, and whose Apostacy from the Cause of their Country, would have been attended with much worse Consequences to their Party. Any one of these Gentlemen, had he made the same Advances, would have been received with the same Distinction, and might have made the same Bargain, had they been as much abandon'd by all Sense of Honour.

Your Lordship's Reflections upon the near Connection there is betwixt the publick and private Character of a Man, puts me in Mind of two very great Improproprieties in the other two Characters of this Triumvirate. You have taken some of the striking Parts of *Antony's* Character, which extremely well fit that of another Person well known in the World. But it unluckily happens, my Lord, that the most Characteristical Distinction of the *Roman Antony* was, a *boundless Profusion*:
Whereas

Whereas the very Soul of the *English Antony* is known to be, bound round by *sordid Avarice*.

The next Impropriety I would take Notice of, my Lord, is yet more absurd, and regards the Character of *Octavius*. The *Roman Octavius* entered *raw*, and *unexperienced* into Affairs. His Character was that of being *cautious, distrustful, diffident, subtle, insinuating, accommodating himself to Time, Opinions, Characters, and Persons*. All these Qualifications he had to such Perfection, that he imposed not only upon *Cicero*, but upon all the *Romans*, who were on the Republican Interest, excepting *Brutus*, and one or two more. In short, my Lord, he found means of gaining a great Number of Personal Friends, by whom he made his Title good; and perhaps we have no Character in History of a great Man who could bear *Contradiction and Reproofs with so much Patience as the Roman Octavius* always did. How much all this is the Reverse of the *English Octavius*, I leave your Lordship and the rest of the World to judge.

Speaking of Sir *R. W.* you say, *That as to him, every Body must allow that the most unjustifiable Methods in many Instances had been formerly pursued; since no Body can deny the not only Ungentlemanlike Treatment he had often met with, but the inhuman manner in which he had been frequently attack'd; when, join'd to all the Ribaldry that could cast Odium, all the coarsest Satire that could give Ridicule, and all the*
strongest

strongest Invectives that could raise the Indignation of the People; his Enemies, after menacing the Crown with Rebellion, and hardly in guarded Terms, even advising and instigating Rebellion in Case he was not removed, went still farther, if possible, in Iniquity; whilst with a Rancour, as little to be warranted us parallel'd, they publicly and frequently in print recommended Assassination: And whilst they pretended to justify it, by Example, turned Advocates for that basest of all Crimes, which few, in latter Times, have had Wickedness enough to commit, and none but these Writers, in any Times, Impudence enough to defend.

I ask your Lordship's pardon for the Length of this Quotation, but there is so much Matter in every Sentence, and the Whole is so roundly asserted, that I cou'd not omit any Part of it. Your Lordship should have given the Publick, for whose Good and Information you pretend to write, an Account of any one unjustifiable Method that had ever been pursued against him. The Gentlemen in the Opposition, look'd indeed upon him as an overgrown, imperious Minister; they thought that it was unsafe for the Nation, that he should possess so much Power as they perceived he had; they found it impossible to attack him in the ordinary Method of bringing less important Offenders to Justice; it was therefore Wise and Justifiable to pursue such Measures in their Opposition, as should point the whole Weight of National Resentment against his Person. Had he sub
mitted

mitted to have had his Innocence clear'd, or his Demerits try'd before any competent Tribunal; then indeed any extraordinary Method of attacking him, would have been as *unjust*, as *unnecessary*: But the Insolence of his Behaviour, his defying the very Reach of Justice, and the absolute Impossibility of bringing him within it while he was posses'd of a dead Majority, render'd it prudent, necessary, and wise, to distress him in every respect. This was no more than an equitable Retaliation upon him; he had given the first Provocation, by setting himself above the Justice of his Country; for he had thereby thrown off all Regard to Decency of Character, he had openly disavow'd all Professions of Innocence, and consequently depriv'd himself of all Right, to be decently or *humanely* treated. But still, my Lord, the Opposition did not take the Advantage they might have done in this Respect: the M——r was treated with more Decency, than other Ministers far less Guilty had ever been: Neither he nor his Friends ever advanc'd any thing, which carry'd with it the Appearance of Reason, which had not both *a patient Hearing*, and *a fair Answer*. This Candid Manner however had no other Effect, than to push him upon the last Expedient of *Ministerial Guilt*; I mean, having recourse to *Numbers*. Still the opposite Party submitted, while every new Success added to the Insolence and the open Contempt, which the others profess'd of all Reason and Rectitude. Yet still the Gentle-

men

men in the Interest of their Country, were so far from expressing any Disaffection, far more from *menacing the Crown with Rebellion*, as your Lordship asserts; that, next to the Regard they had for their Country, that for the Honour of his Majesty, had the greatest Share in the Motives of their Opposition.

So that your Lordship's Assertion is as destitute of *Common Decency*, as it is of *Common Sense*, or *Truth*. The Gentlemen in the Opposition may challenge your Lordship, and the whole Legion of the Ministerial Advocates, to give one Instance in which any one of them ever was personally engag'd in a Measure which express'd the least Disaffection to the present Happy Establishment; they indeed expressed Dissatisfaction with regard to the Measures of the G — t, but it is peculiar to your Lordship, to term *Dissatisfaction with the Minister*, REBELLION AGAINST THE SOVEREIGN.

But a Charge of a more infamous, and if possible a fouler Nature, still closes this remarkable Paragraph; I mean that of *Recommending Assassination*. It is so long, my Lord, since we have heard any thing of this Story, that I was in hopes for your Friends honour, that it had been bury'd in Silence. Your Lordship would have done well to have inform'd the World, in what Manner this Recommendation of *Assassination* was convey'd; whether in a Penny-post Letter, or a Two-penny Journal. If in the Former, you would do well to prove to the World, that your Friend and Patron was quite Guiltless of writing the Letter him-

D

self.

self. This is an old State-way with Statesmen, as well as Journalists, and has been of exceeding good Use in recommending the Preservation of a wicked M——r, upon the Principles of Compassion and Fidelity in him; and of Blood-thirstiness and Revenge in his Enemies. What tender-hearted M——r wou'd not bleed to think that the Head of a faithful Servant is doom'd to Destruction, meerly because he has been Faithful and Loyal? Or what unsuspecting P——ce could imagine, that such a Letter is no other than a meer Forgery and Imposition of the very Person whom it menaces?

If this *Assassinating* Scheme, was recommended in any Journal or Pamphlet, your Lordship ought to have nam'd them; that the World may not be left with an Opinion, that the whole Charge is a low, nasty, sneaking Quibble, invented to throw Dirt upon the best and most virtuous Part of the Nation. But taking it for granted, that such a detestable Scheme had ever been broach'd, or had ever appear'd in Print; ought the Madness and Fury of perhaps a low, needy, rascally Writer, to be charg'd as a Crime upon the whole Party? To conclude, my Lord, I never, upon the best Enquiry, could light on any Paper or Pamphlet that recommends the Crime you mention; and if there is any such, I am apt to believe it either came from some Madman or from some very great Rogue of a certain great Man's Acquaintance, to raise his own Importance, and throw an Odium upon the other Party.

Your

Your next Charge against the Opposition, my Lord, is founded upon the Injustice, as you will have it, of the Motion for removing him from his Majesty's Councils. The Reasons alledged in support of this Motion were, according to your Lordship, *(q)* *That the Notoriety of his Guilt being such, that every one was convinc'd of it, and none but his Hirelings disputed it; it was unnecessary farther to prove what all Mankind knew; and that whilst he continued in Power, what was call'd legal Evidence being in his own Hands, it was impossible to come at it, or any way but this to come at him. That such Papers, as would have manifested his Crimes, had been often demanded, but always refus'd.* I have heard of a certain eminent Divine, my Lord, who in writing against Atheism, states the Objections brought by his Antagonist against Christianity so strongly, that he found himself unable to answer them. Tho' your Reasons, as stated here, are far from being of the same Strength with those for the Motion; yet your Lordship would have done well to have answered them even weakly, as you have stated them. If a Man in the Face of a Court should be Guilty of Indecency, Perjury, or any other Offence, of which the Judges themselves are Ear and Eye-witnesses, may they not punish him under such Circumstances, without a Verdict of a Jury? The late M——r was under those very Circumstances; the Members of the House were his Judges; he had by his Promises, which he broke;

broke ; by his Fears, for Dangers which never existed ; and by his Hope of Events that never could have happen'd, brought them to agree upon his *sole Authority*, to many Steps that prov'd exceedingly against the Honour and Interest of the Nation. The Motion therefore brought in, was no other than an Appeal to the Sense of the House, whether this was, or was not the Case ? So much as to the Fairness of this first Allegation, as stated by your Lordship.

As to the second, I think it is unanswerable, because it is founded upon a *manifest self-evident Fact*. The legal Proofs were in his own Pocket, and impossible to be come at without his own Consent ; this Motion therefore was intended to force those Proofs out of his Hand, that he might be brought to a regular Trial. These Considerations, my Lord, I think are a sufficient Answer to the Defence you make for (r) Sir R. W. in the next Page, which is indeed no other than a bare Repetition of what had been again and again published in the *Gazeteer* by your Lordship and the Reverend Biographer of *Cicero* ; containing nothing more than *general* Invectives upon personal Characters.

Your Lordship (s) next appeals for the Truth of those Invectives to the *Transactions last Winter, and to the immediate jostling and scrambling for Places among those Men the Day after the M—er's Removal*. Here again, my Lord, I am afraid your Lordship is a little out as to Facts. I never heard any one Instance of the

(r) *Miscell. Thoughts*, p. 40. (s) *Ibid.* p. 41.

the Gentlemen in the Opposition, upon that Occasion, either jostling or scrambling for Posts. I know indeed they had a Meeting, but the Sense of that Meeting was unanimous against those who had step'd forward into Places; and who were so far from being jostled as they were stepping into them, that there scarcely was a Man in the Party, besides themselves, who was not ashamed of being seen in their Company. Now, my Lord, as this is the Fact, it would have looked much better for your Lordship not to have rested the main Pillar of your Spite to the Gentlemen who have persevered in the Opposition, upon so rotten a Foundation.

The next Attack your Lordship makes is upon Principles equally destitute of Truth to support them. You say (a), a Set of Gentlemen were afterwards appointed to enquire into his Conduct for ten Years past; and in order to make that Enquiry effectual, were possessed of such Powers (whether all delegated, or some assumed, is not for me to determine) as no Set of Men were ever possessed of in this Country upon any Occasion; and seemed to resemble only that supreme and despotick Authority of the Decemviri, during the Exercise of which, the Force of all Laws, and the Power of all Magistracies, but their own, was suspended. Here, my Lord, I am afraid there is not one Word of Truth to support the Assertion. I believe your Lordship may yourself remember two or three

(a) Miscell. Thoughts, p. 41.

three Instances, where more ample Powers were granted to a Committee of Secrecy, than either any that were delegated to or assumed by this one. The first Instance is that of the Committee appointed to enquire into the Conduct of the Earl of Oxford, of which Mr. W. was himself the Chairman.

This Committee, if I am not mistaken, had the very same Powers with the last, and I believe made a much more arbitrary use of it. In what Manner the Intention of it was evaded, a certain Friend of yours, I believe, can best inform the World. But, my Lord, I should be glad to know how it is possible that a Committee of Secrecy, whose Powers are no other than those of the House, could be of any Manner of Service to the Publick, if vested with less Power than what the last Committee possessed. Be that however as it will, it very plainly appeared by the Consequence, they had no Power at all. They had not the Power even of obliging any one to answer who was call'd before them. All the Power they had was, that of complaining to the House in Case of Refusal, and then the House made themselves Judges, whether this Person should, or should not be committed. It appeared after this, that this Committee had no Manner of coercive Power: And Care wastaken that the Coercive Bill, which could render the Purposes for which they were established effectual, should be thrown out. Under such Disadvantages, it was a Miracle how they could come to the Discovery of such Facts as they did, when shackled with such Restrictions.

tions. So that upon the whole, notwithstanding all your Lordship has said, this Committee was no more than the Phantom of the Powers of the House, having no more Authority than what a Majority of the House was pleased to permit, even as to a temporary Imprisonment of those who refused to answer: And this Punishment limited too by the Duration of the Session.

After this Specimen of your Lordship's Veracity, one has the less Occasion to take Notice of your supposed Case (b) of a *Man accused of Adultery, Incest, Sacrilege, Blasphemy, and all Sorts of Profaness and Immorality*: And who after being represented as guilty of all this Profligacy, his Accusers should only labour to prove him guilty of *playing at Cards on Sunday, or taking God's Name in vain*. The Crimes that this Criminal was convicted of by the Report of the S—t C—ee, were in their own Nature as heinous against the Constitution of this Country, as the Breach of any of the Commands is against the Law of God: And if he was not prov'd guilty of more, it was owing to the strong Efforts made by himself and Friends, to put a stop to the Possibility of all further Enquiry; in which by the help of their new Auxiliaries they succeeded.

As to the remaining Part of your Lordship's extraordinary Performance, I only differ from you as to the Motives upon which you wrote it, which plainly were to set off the Lustre of your Friend's Character at the Expence of others.

I am

(b) Miscell. Thoughts, p. 44.

I am entirely of your Lordship's Opinion, that the Conduct of your R-----t H-----ble Friend's Successors in the M-----y is more execrably bad than his was. *His* brought the Nation into *Contempt*, and must have at last expos'd it to *Ruin and Beggary*; *Theirs* expose it to *both* at one and the same time; we wanted only an A-----n of this Kind, to finish in a more speedy Manner that absolute Ruin, of which, if you will pardon the Expression, *He* had laid the Foundation. We were in his time the *Ridicule* of, but we are now likely to be a Sacrifice for our Enemies. I must only beg leave to differ from your Lordship's Opinion of the pacific Conduct of the late M-----r, which I think was *wicked and pernicious*, tho' your L-----p thinks it to have been the highest Encomium upon his Conduct.

As to your Lordship's Political Creed, I heartily subscribe it; but will beg leave to make an Emendation to it, with which I shall conclude these Remarks: *viz. From a Spirit of submitting to the grossest Affronts, while we may prevent them; of suffering all the Miseries of War, under Pretence of enjoying the Benefits of Peace: From the Meanness of submitting to the Insults of weak Enemies, from the Madness of provoking too powerful ones, from the Infamy of avoiding necessary Wars; and from the Folly of plunging into desperate Quarrels: Good Lord deliver the Government of this Nation.*

18 JA 53

F I N I S.

